Chapter 14
Migrants' Economic Participation in Origin and Destination Countries: The Case of Senegal

Eleonora Castagnone, Papa Sakho, Tiziana Nazio, Bruno Schoumaker, and Andonirina Rakotonarivo

14.1 Introduction

Labour migration is a longstanding concern both for destination countries, which are confronted with growing labour shortages and the challenge of migrants' integration in the receiving society, and for sending countries, which see their migrants as potential agents of development.

However, as argued in Chap. 5, when looking at migrants' labour outcomes at destination, current research tends to focus either on single life course events or states (e.g. finding employment, being employed, etc.) or on summary performance measures, mainly taking a cross-sectional approach. Occupational outcomes are

E. Castagnone (✉)
Forum Internazionale ed Europeo di Ricerche sull'Immigrazione (FIERI), Turin, Italy
e-mail: castagnone@fieri.it

P. Sakho
IPDSR, Université Cheikh Anta Diop, Dakar, Senegal
e-mail: papa.sakho@ucad.edu.sn

T. Nazio
Collegia Carlo Alberto, University of Turin, Turin, Italy
Forum Internazionale ed Europeo di Ricerche sull'Immigrazione (FIERI), Turin, Italy
e-mail: tiziana.nazio@unito.it

B. Schoumaker
Centre de recherche en démographie, Université Catholique de Louvain, Louvain-la-Neuve, Belgium
e-mail: bruno.schoumaker@uclouvain.be

A. Rakotonarivo
UNESCO, Institute for Statistics, Montreal, QC, Canada
Centre de recherche en démographie, Université Catholique de Louvain, Louvain-la-Neuve, Belgium
e-mail: andorakotonarivo@yahoo.fr

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seldom considered from a longitudinal and transnational perspective (Lubotsky 2007; Duleep and Dowhan 2008), i.e. considering long-term occupational outcomes and looking at labour trajectories before leaving, during migration and upon return. Even more rarely have such longitudinal studies taken a comparative approach, though this is important for disentangling specific features of employment performance that may help to explain differences in immigrant labour market outcomes across EU countries.

A longitudinal, transnational, comparative approach is crucial if we are to have a full picture of the migration process and of long-term labour trajectories and understand why we find different migrant profiles in different destinations in Europe, how they integrate in different contexts and how they eventually re-integrate in their origin country if they return permanently.

Migrants have been increasingly discussed as potential agents of development, contributing to their communities of origin either while abroad or as returnees bringing back their skills and knowledge (Black and King 2004; Van Hear and Sørensen 2003; Sjenitzer and Tiemoko 2003; Beine et al. 2013). However, the literature and policies on migration and development that have proliferated in the last decade have almost overlooked how migrants' transnational economic behaviour and eventual re-settlement in their origin country relate to their level of integration in the receiving countries.

The aim of this chapter is to explore the labour trajectories of Senegalese migrants in Spain, Italy and France, and of returnees in Senegal, looking at different stages in the migration process and considering migrants' occupational situations before leaving, on arrival in Europe, while living there and upon return. This chapter will also consider how different patterns of transnational engagement with the origin country relate to economic and legal integration at destination.

After a brief overview of the economic, institutional and political frameworks in France, Italy and Spain as receiving countries, the first part of the chapter focuses on the profiles of Senegalese migrants in each of these countries, looking at the skills composition of the Senegalese community surveyed there and their labour trajectories across the first ten years of stay in Europe, comparing their outcomes by host country and by gender.

The second part explores migrants' economic contribution to their country of origin during their stay abroad, focusing particularly on individual investments, the sending of remittances and contributions to diaspora associations. The aim here is to see how these different forms of transnational engagement change over time according to migrants' gender, education and occupational and legal integration in the host countries.

In the third part, after profiling returnees' characteristics, the chapter will look at their labour outcomes in the Senegalese employment market, comparing their outcomes retrospectively before migrating, before returning, upon return to Senegal and at the time of the survey. Their occupational performance and living conditions will be compared with those who did not migrate. Finally, some conclusions will be drawn from the results of the analyses.

14.2 France, Italy and Spain as Labour Migration Receiving Countries

European countries differ widely in their patterns of migrant worker inflow in terms of national origin, timing and magnitude. Migrants' economic integration outcomes are closely tied to labour market structure and immigration law and regulations in each host country.

Among the three European receiving countries selected, France can be considered a "mature" or "old" migration country in North-Western Europe, while Spain and Italy are "new" immigration countries in southern Europe.

Migration into France has been strongly influenced by its colonial legacy. It is also the Western European country with the longest tradition of recruiting permanent foreign workers. France started bringing in migrant workers in the nineteenth century, when industrialisation and population decline had led to labour shortages. At the beginning of the 1930s, France was second only to the USA as a migrant receiving country in terms of absolute numbers. During the immediate post-war reconstruction period and subsequent economic growth, the French public authorities pursued an active recruitment policy to attract a foreign workforce – mainly male workers from other European countries and former colonies in Africa. As well as citizens of the former colonies, France also received returning settlers, soldiers and civil servants over the course of the decolonisation process (Peixoto et al. 2012).

Later, in response to the economic crisis of the early 1970s and following the example of other European countries, in 1974 France stopped all recruitment programmes for foreign workers and introduced external and internal controls (visas and residence permits). As a result, inflows of foreign non-seasonal workers dropped dramatically. Seasonal labour migration continued and remained significant until at least the early 1990s, with 64,200 seasonal workers entering between 1981 and 1987. Family members of migrants residing in France accounted for an increasingly substantial proportion of new migrants. By the early 1990s these were the largest category (Devitt 2012: 6), family reunification becoming the main channel for immigration.

Although most migrants employed in the French labour market today have not come through the direct labour immigration channel, France has never stopped being a country of labour immigration. A huge proportion of migrants who enter France through family reunification or other non-labour channels participate in the labour market and are thus, indirectly, migrant workers (Devitt 2012). In addition, the vast majority of immigrants who use the official labour immigration channels were already residents in France before being issued a work permit, many of them being foreign graduates of French universities.

Spain and Italy, on the other hand, share some traits as more recent, southern European destinations for migrants. Becoming host countries and labour importers more recently, they have recorded the highest growth rates in this regard in the last decade. While the foreign population increased by 34.1% on average in Europe between 2000 and 2009, that rate was 265% for Spain and 194% in Italy (OECD 2011).

In contrast to the most recent trends in France, entry and residence policies in Italy and Spain have favoured economic migration. Their economies, more than those in north-western Europe, are dominated by labour-intensive, low-productivity, low-technology sectors, still largely based on traditional production systems and heavily reliant on low-cost labour. Growing labour shortages in low-skilled, low-paid and socially low-status occupations, increasingly deserted by native workers, have generated demand for a cheap, flexible foreign labour force mainly concentrated on the lowest rungs of the occupational ladder.

A huge proportion of migrants entering the two Southern European countries did so without a proper residence permit, or overstayed their temporary visa period. Unauthorized migrants entering Italy and Spain are able to live and work without necessarily having a worker's residence permit. After a period (short or long) of unauthorized stay and unregistered employment, they then obtain a legitimate permit through one of the frequent regularisation schemes (Salis 2012; Reyneri 2007; Arango 2012). As Reyneri and Fullin suggest (2010), the underground economy, with its strong attraction effect, has played a crucial role in shaping migration patterns and the medium- and long-term labour outcomes of migrants in southern Europe.

14.3 Senegalese Migrants' Integration into the European Labour Market

Migrants' occupational outcomes are subject to dispute and depend on a number of individual characteristics, such as gender and education, and on the situation in the destination country: policies governing entry, the entitlements required to access the labour market, the structure of the economy and the economic sectors where demand for foreign workers is concentrated. Integration into the labour markets at destination also varies with duration of stay in the host country.

One of our main purposes in this section is to understand the performance of Senegalese migrants in the labour markets of the three European destination countries in the study.

The first step is to consider the occupational statuses of migrants heading to these three countries, in the year prior to departure. It is widely recognised in the literature (Hatton and Williamson 2002) that there is a self-selection process at work, affecting both the decision to migrate (rather than remain in the origin country) and the composition of the migrant group heading to each European destination (de Haas 2011). Selection relates to educational level and occupational skills, but also depends on the period of departure and networks in the destination countries.

The next step is to analyze labour outcomes of Senegalese migrants by looking at their occupational trajectories across their first ten years of stay in Europe, comparing the destination countries and focusing on gender. The analysis is based on dynamic data on the labour status of Senegalese migrants sampled in 2008 in

Spain, Italy and France in the year prior to departure and up to their first ten years of continuous stay in Europe (i.e. interruptions for returns into the country of origin or to extra European countries were not accounted for in the analyses).

14.3.1 Profiles of Senegalese Migrants Prior to Departure

Looking at Senegalese migrants' occupational statuses prior to departure will help not only to trace their labour trajectories but also to define the labour composition of the groups going to the different European destinations and to understand the nature of Senegalese migration in each receiving country.

As shown in the column on the far left of each graph in Figs. 14.1 and 14.2, showing Senegalese migrants' occupational statuses in the year before leaving, overall, a high proportion of Senegalese migrants are unskilled, albeit with some relevant differences between the three countries.

The majority of Senegalese interviewed in Spain and Italy had been unskilled at the time of departure: 72% and 61% respectively, compared to 34% in France. A markedly higher proportion of those residing in France had been skilled or students before leaving (in France 15% skilled and 28% students, compared to 8% and 5% respectively in Spain and 7% and 11% in Italy).

The results show that, historically and still today, Senegalese leaving their country as skilled workers or as students have mainly gone to France. This should be interpreted in the light of the historical, cultural and institutional links between France and its former colony Senegal. Colonial connections, including a shared official language and similar educational systems (implying easier recognition of diplomas obtained in the country of origin), remain a major factor shaping the composition of migration flows and the structure of opportunities available to citizens from former colonies. Furthermore, France being an old destination for the Senegalese, more recent migrants can rely on long-standing networks of co-nationals there, either studying or already integrated into skilled positions in the workforce (OECD 2010: 157).

France is also the country with the highest incidence of migrants who were inactive prior to departure (31% vs. 11% in Italy and 3% Spain). They are mainly women, as Fig. 14.2 reveals, who did not participate in the labour market in Senegal and most of whom left to follow their husbands. While women migrating independently from Senegal seem mainly to head to Italy and Spain, the new destinations, female migration to France is still predominantly based on family reunification (Tandian- Coulibaly 2008; Tall-Tandian 2010) (see Chap. 3). The proportion of women who came for work reasons is twice as high in Italy and Spain (40%) as in France (20%) (unshown results).

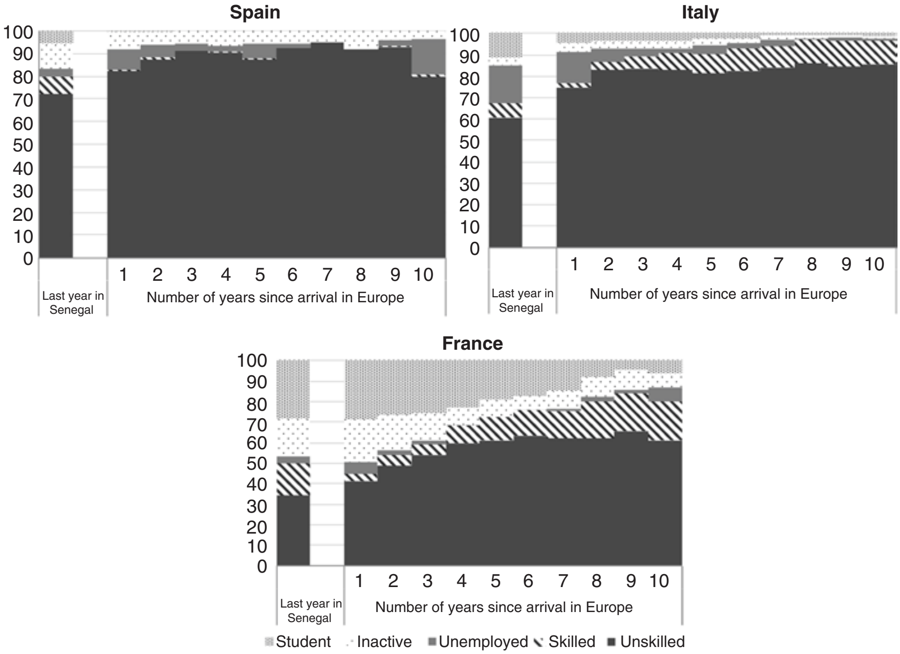

Fig. 14.1 Occupational status in the last year in Africa and in each year of stay in Europe (for the first ten years), by country of destination

Source: MAFE-Senegal biographic survey in Senegal, France, Italy and Spain
Population: Current migrants in France, Italy and Spain; weighted data
Interpretation: The figures show the distribution of the last occupational status of Senegalese migrants before they left (first column on the left) and their occupational status in each year of their stay in Europe, for the first ten years of residence, by receiving country (set of columns on the right, showing year 1, 2, 3, etc. after entry to Europe). We have only considered 10 years after arrival in order to make comparison easier, since length of stay differs widely between individuals
Significance
Difference in occupation between the last year in Africa and the first year in Europe is statistically significant in Spain ($p<0.01$), in Italy ($p<0.01$), and in France ($p<0.01$)
Difference in occupation between the first year in Europe and the tenth year in Europe is statistically significant in France ($p<0.01$) and Italy ($p<0.01$), and not significant in Spain ($p>0.1$)

14.3.2 How Labour Market Trajectories Unfold in the European Destinations

Given the differences in profile upon arrival, what are the subsequent outcomes in terms of access to the labour market and the long-term performance of Senegalese in the three destination countries?

While the figures above do not allow us to track individual labour mobility, by showing the proportion of migrant groups in the different labour categories for each year, Tables 14.1 and 14.2 provide additional information on the dynamic labour

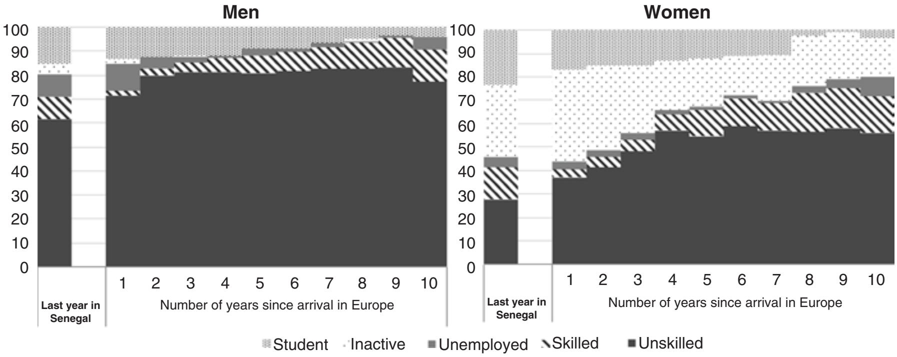

Fig. 14.2 Occupational status in the last year in Africa and during each year in Europe (for the first ten years), by gender

Source: MAFE-Senegal biographic survey in Senegal, France, Italy and Spain
Population: Current migrants in France, Italy and Spain; weighted data
Interpretation: same as for Figure 2.1, but according to gender
Significance
Difference in occupation between the last year in Africa and the first year in Europe is statistically significant for men ($p<0.01$) and women ($p<0.01$)
Difference in occupation between the first year in Europe and the tenth year in Europe is statistically significant for men ($p<0.01$) and women ($p<0.01$)

Table 14.1 Five most frequent occupational status sequences of migrants during their stay in Europe, by country of residence

Spain		Italy		France		3 Countries	
Sequence	%	Sequence	%	Sequence			%
Unskilled	68	Unskilled	64	Unskilled	36	Unskilled	52
Unskilled.-Unempl.	8	Unempl.-Unskilled	11	Inact.-Unskilled	12	Unempl.-Unskilled	6
Unempl.-Unskilled	5	Unskilled-Skilled	4	Student-Skilled	9	Inact.-Unskilled.	6
Inact.-Unskilled.	4	Inactive	3	Student	8	Student-Skilled	4
Unemployed	4	Student-Unskilled-Skilled	2	Student-Unskilled	5	Student	4
Total	**87%**		**85%**		**69%**		**88%**
N	199		203		200		602

Source: MAFE-Senegal biographic survey in Senegal, France, Italy and Spain
Population: Current migrants in France, Italy and Spain; weighted data
Interpretation: The table shows the most frequent occupational status sequences (possible statuses: unskilled, skilled, unemployed, inactive, student). Horizontal mobility (involving changes within the same status) is not tracked here, e.g. if an individual has changed unskilled jobs, his/her trajectory will remain "unskilled". Note that only the "main activity status" is registered for each year, which may result in an underestimation of short-term unemployment, spells of inactivity and short-term jobs

Table 14.2 Five most frequent sequences of migrants' occupational statuses during their stay in Europe, by gender (possible statuses: unskilled, skilled (intermediate to high), unemployed, inactive, student)

Men		Women	
Sequence	%	Sequence	%
Unskilled	61	Unskilled	64
Unempl.-Unskilled	8	Inact.-Unskilled	11
Student	4	Inactive	4
Student-Skilled	4	Student-Skilled	3
Unskilled.- Unempl.	4	Inactive.-Unskilled.-Inactive	2
Total	**81%**		**70%**
N	330		273

Source: MAFE-Senegal biographic survey in Senegal, France, Italy and Spain
Population: Current migrants in France, Italy and Spain; weighted data
Interpretation: The table is based on sequence analysis and shows migrants' five most common trajectories (sequences of labour statuses from entry to Europe to survey time), by gender. Single-status trajectories (e.g. "Unskilled", "Student") may indicate either continuity in the same unskilled job (indicating stagnation) or changes of job within the unskilled category ("lateral mobility"). Most of the trajectories involve one or two statuses, while a minority involve more changes, as with women's "Inactive-Unskilled-Inactive" trajectory

paths of individuals in the three European receiving countries, showing *what types* of labour trajectories Senegalese migrants most frequently took, depending on destination country and gender.

The low level of qualification of Senegalese migrants going to **Spain** and **Italy**, where the demand for foreign labour is mainly concentrated in unskilled jobs (see Sect. 14.2), strongly determines their subsequent economic integration in the two countries' labour markets, with more than 60% of individuals continuing in unskilled jobs in both countries (see Table 14.1, 'unskilled' sequences).

However, while we find a stubborn core of unskilled workers in Spain and Italy, the occupational trajectories of skilled workers surveyed in these two countries show different trends. In Italy, qualified Senegalese are subject to under-employment considering their qualification upon arrival (a typical downward occupational move), but some are able to "catch up" in subsequent years, gradually recovering skilled status over the duration of their stay (4% unskilled➔skilled; see also Fig. 14.1). In Spain, immediate and irreversible downward mobility is observed, with almost the majority of workers remaining in low positions throughout (see Fig. 14.1).

For students too, the situation differs between Spain and Italy. Among migrants who left Senegal as students, a slightly higher proportion was surveyed in Italy than in Spain. Once in Italy, a proportion of them managed to continue their studies and later gain access to skilled jobs ('student➔unskilled➔skilled' sequence in Table 14.1), whereas in Spain we find almost no-one in education (see Fig. 14.1).

The picture in **France** is very different. Only slightly more than 30% of the workers who migrated to France were low- or unskilled workers before leaving. In

France, over time, that percentage increases, mainly as a result of some inactive migrants entering employment (12% of the trajectories in Table 14.1), most of these being women (see Table 14.2).

In France we also find the highest proportion of migrants arriving with skills. Their employment status is routinely downgraded on arrival (Fig. 14.1), with fewer migrants in intermediate to high positions than before they left home. The proportion of skilled workers increases over time, however (Fig. 14.1). This increase is mainly produced by the entry of students into the labour market in qualified positions after completion of their studies, accounting for 9% of the overall occupational trajectories (see Table 14.1).

Foreign students already living in the destination countries represent the main reservoir of highly qualified foreign workers (Hawthorne 2008). This situation can be beneficial to the receiving countries, which draw from a pool of candidates who have been at least partly educated (and socialised) in the host country. These young, educated former students are more likely to overcome many of the problems that beset immigrants arriving to seek work directly, since they are more likely to have advanced host-country language skills, training and/or relevant experience for the labour market. In addition, local employers can better understand and assess their credentials in comparison to host country diplomas (*ibid*.).

All these factors not only affect students' careers, they also play a crucial broader role in the labour outcomes of migrants in destination countries. Students and skilled migrants will accordingly prefer France as destination, with an obvious selection effect. On the other hand, the structural opportunities offered by the receiving countries will inevitably shape the migrants' integration into the domestic labour market. The data in Chap. 13 on motives for migration confirm that "studies" rate high among the main reasons for migrating to France (20% of migrants living in that country, compared to fewer than 2% in Italy and 0% in Spain).

14.3.3 Gendered Migration and Labour Trajectories

The literature highlights the scale of gender differences in patterns of international migration (Pessar 1999; Hondagneu-Sotelo 1994; Boyd and Grieco 2003). Men and women differ in their motives for moving to another country and in their socio-economic integration paths in the destination country. Cultural values, normative expectations and social institutions as well as historical and structural factors play a crucial role in migration choices and conditions (Cerrutti and Massey 2001). Gender can either constrain or favour mobility; it can affect access to the job market for new migrants, as well as integration and social mobility thereafter. In turn, migration can influence traditional gender roles and labour market participation.

Senegalese migration is traditionally and prevalently undertaken by men, with women very much relying on families to determine and organise their migration plans (Toma Vause 2011). Migration of unaccompanied women from Senegal was discouraged until very recently, especially over long distances and without the support of family members at destination. Reunification with husbands or other male relatives, rather than economic motives, has been their main migration driver (see Chap. 13).

Given the predominantly non-economic nature of Senegalese women's migration, how do their labour trajectories in Europe unfold upon arrival and in the long run? Evidence from earlier projects shows that so-called 'non-economic migrants', i.e. those who came to Europe as family members, students or refugees, play an important and often neglected role in European labour markets, as they often join the labour market either upon arrival or at a later stage (Cangiano 2012).

The occupational composition of migrants prior to migration shows significant differences by gender. In particular, one woman in three (about 30%) was inactive before leaving, compared to only one out of twenty men (about 5%) (Fig. 14.4).

Subsequent labour market outcomes are also strongly marked by gender. On arrival in Europe, we find a polarization of occupational status among women, following a diverging trend: the increase across the different occupational categories of those inactive and of those employed in low-skilled jobs. The underlying phenomena are (a) the entry of a proportion of women into the labour market, almost exclusively in unskilled positions, (b) deskilling of those who where in skilled occupations in Senegal and join the European labour market in unskilled jobs (Fig. 14.4), and (c) the exit from the labour market of women who were previously in employment. Further analysis would be needed to disentangle the determinants of these two opposite trends (Fig. 14.3).

As time passes, migration seems to have a positive effect on female participation in the labour market. Although the female inactivity rate grows in the first years of arrival, it decreases over time compared to entries into the labour market, mainly in unskilled occupations (see Figs. 14.1 and 14.4 and Table 14.2).

We find a similar pattern of men and women who were students or skilled workers prior to departure being subject to immediate and persistent deskilling at their entry into the European labour market (but with a slightly higher rate among women). As shown in the previous graphs (Fig. 14.1), the subsequent increase in skilled workers is mainly due to students entering the labour market (4% of occupational sequences among men and 3% among women (Table 14.2), rather than to upward mobility (transitions from unskilled to skilled jobs) (see Fig. 14.2 and Table 14.2).

Migration has a positive effect on participation in the labour market over time, with unemployed men finding work (8%) and inactive women becoming employed (11%). As regards students, some men are students throughout (4% of men but no women) and some transition from studies to skilled jobs (4% of men vs. 3% of women).

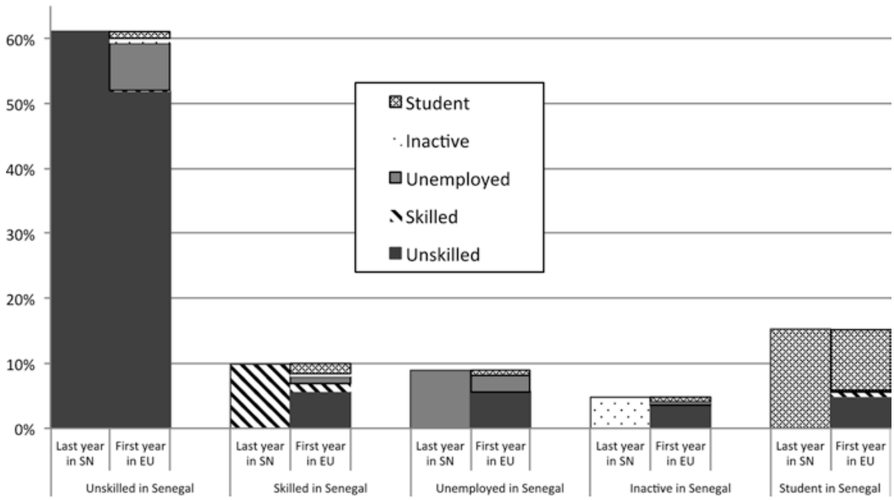

Fig. 14.3 Men's transitions from last occupational status in Senegal before leaving to first occupational status in Europe (% in any of the three countries, Spain, France or Italy)

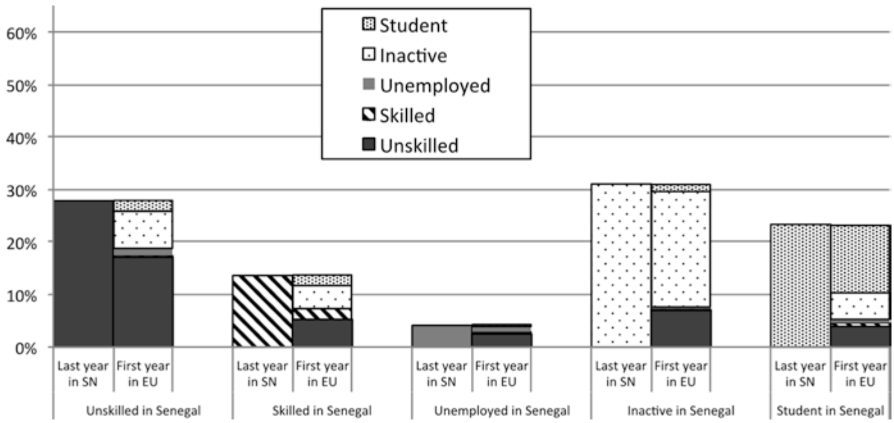

Fig. 14.4 Women's transitions from last occupational status in Senegal before leaving to first occupational status in Europe (% in any of the three countries, Spain, France and Italy)

Source: MAFE-Senegal biographic survey in Senegal, France, Italy and Spain
Population: Current migrants in France, Italy and Spain; weighted data
Interpretation: The graphs 14.3 and 14.4 compare migrants' labour statuses at two points in time: the year before migrating and the first year upon arrival, for men and women. E.g. Figures show the proportions of male/female migrants who left as students, inactive, unemployed, skilled or unskilled workers and their labour status upon entry to Europe

14.4 Migrants' Economic Contribution to the Country of Origin

The active role migrants play in supporting the development of their homeland has been the subject of growing interest among international agencies, policymakers and scholars. How do they in fact contribute economically to their home country? This section explores three different forms and levels of Senegalese migrants' economic transnationalism, i.e. contributions made by migrants to their home country while they are abroad: investment in assets such as land, housing and businesses in Senegal (individual level), the sending of remittances (household level), and participation in development initiatives in the country of origin through diaspora organisations (community level). Further analysis will explore how such forms of transnational engagement change over time and differ according to migrants' gender, educational level and legal and occupational status in the destination country. The results show that transfers to the household of origin are the main type of contribution, ahead of economic investments and contributions to diaspora organisations. This hierarchy in economic relations with the country of origin may be due to the family aspect of migration, the desire to minimise the risks of managing origin country investments at a distance, and a lesser attachment to territory among migrants who have increasingly been leaving from urban areas, particularly Dakar.

Overall, between the time of entry into Europe and the time of the survey (2008), the number of migrants living in the three countries who were sending remittances or who owned businesses, houses or land in Senegal grew markedly. The proportion of migrants sending remittances rose from 40–45% upon entry to Europe to 75–80% at the time of the survey, depending on country of residence.

Migrants' ownership of assets increased even more dramatically over the duration of their stay abroad. Of migrants in France, for example, the proportion owning assets was 20% on arrival and four times higher in 2008. The situation was similar for migrants in Italy. In Spain, where the migrant subsample owning assets at arrival was smallest, the proportion of migrants owning in each year of their stay in Europe assets in Senegal increased from 18% to 50%. These results are understandable, since it takes time for migrants – particularly those in low-skilled jobs – to save enough in their country of residence to invest in assets back home. In addition, migrants are often concerned to secure the home-country household's living conditions before investing in assets.

A small proportion of migrants contribute financially to diaspora associations: fewer than 10% upon entry to Europe and fewer than 30% in 2008. The marked differences between countries (Fig. 14.5) may be due to differences between migratory cultures. The first Senegalese migrants to France, who came from the Senegal valley, established a strong tradition of "hometown" associations, set up to maintain links with the home village and invest in community projects such as health centres, schools and irrigation schemes. By contrast, most migrants in Spain and Italy are from urban areas in Senegal, where hometown associations are not common. Numerous authors have shown a very high rate of participation in Senegalese asso-

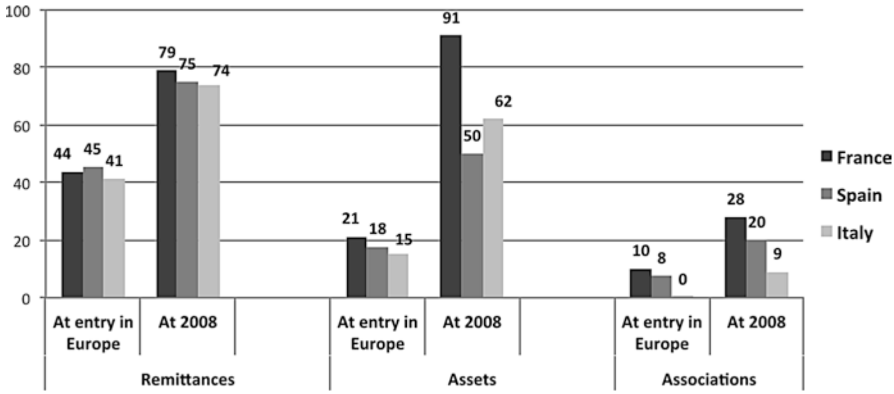

Fig. 14.5 Proportion of migrants sending remittances, owning asset(s) and paying contributions to diaspora associations at the time of the survey, by country of residence, upon arrival in Europe and in 2008

Source: MAFE-Senegal biographic survey in Senegal, France, Italy and Spain
Population: Current migrants in France, Italy and Spain; weighted data
Interpretation: The graph shows the percentage of individuals sending remittances, owning assets, and contributing to associations at two points in time (upon entry to Europe and in 2008), by country of residence in 2008
Significance: Difference in remittances between the first year in Europe and the year 2008 is statistically significant in France ($p < 0.01$), in Spain ($p < 0.01$) and in Italy ($p < 0.01$); difference in mean number of assets between the first year in Europe and the year 2008 is statistically significant in France ($p < 0.01$), in Spain ($p < 0.01$) and in Italy ($p < 0.01$); difference in contribution to associations between the first year in Europe and the year 2008 is statistically significant in France ($p < 0.01$), in Spain ($p < 0.05$) and in Italy ($p < 0.01$)

ciations in Europe (Ceschi and Stocchiero 2007; Castagnone 2007; Navarra and Salis 2010), but these are mainly associations formed to promote socioeconomic integration, mutual aid and cultural promotion in Italy, rather than associations active in Senegal, which is the type observed in the MAFE data.

14.4.1 Remittances Over Time

Remittances often depend on strategy, and this can vary over time according to gender, education, employment situation or legal status (cf. Fig. 14.6).[1] An analysis of gender relations shows that throughout the stay in Europe men are slightly more

[1] For a study of the factors associated with remittances at the time of the survey in Senegal see Rakotonarivo, A. and M. A. Mangalu (2013). "Envoyer et recevoir: les transferts de migrants vers les régions de Dakar et Kinshasa" in *Migrations africaines: le co-développement en questions. Essai de démographie politique*. C. Beauchemin, L. Kabbanji, P. Sakho and B. Schoumaker. Paris, Armand Colin**:** 127–158.

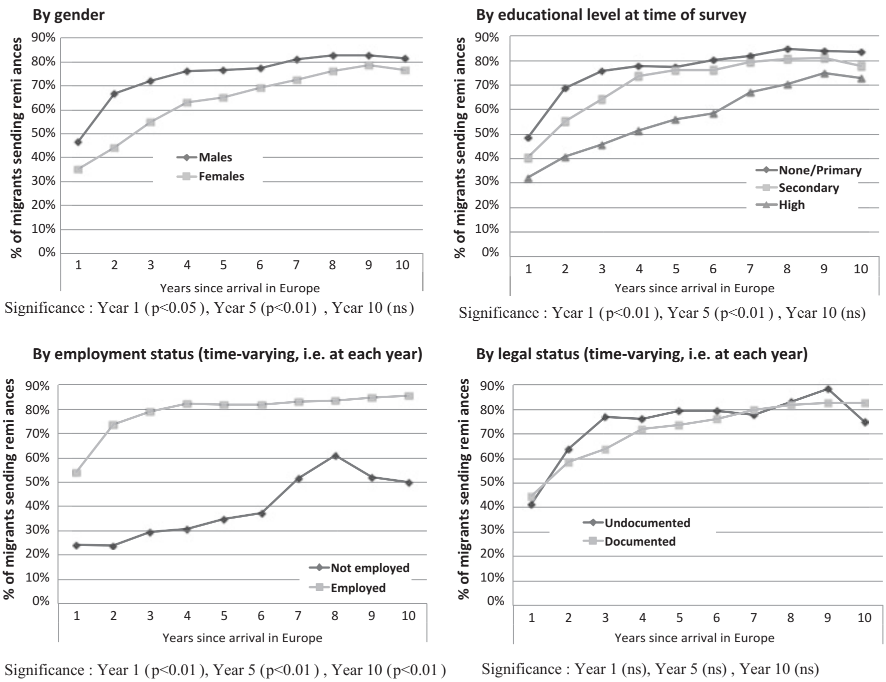

Fig. 14.6 Proportion of migrants sending remittances to Senegal, during each year of their stay in Europe (for the first ten years)

Source: MAFE-Senegal biographic survey in Senegal, France, Italy and Spain
Population: Current migrants in France, Italy and Spain; weighted data
Interpretation: Proportion of sampled migrants sending remittances in each year of stay in Europe, for the first ten years of stay

likely than women to send remittances, especially during the first four years, when nearly 80% of men already do, compared to slightly more than 60% of women (cf. Fig. 14.6, by gender). This behavioural difference is probably linked to the structure of the Senegalese family, in which the man is traditionally responsible for providing financial support (Abdoulaye Bara Diop 1985). After the first few years of living abroad, however, the proportion of female migrants sending remittances increases quite markedly (from 60% to nearly 80% after the first ten years). This finding hints to a differential in participation to employment (thus income availability) by gender (which lowers over time, see Sect. 14.3.3) than to gendered role expectations.

As regards level of education at the time of the survey, the more highly educated migrants are generally less likely to send remittances during their stay abroad than those with lower education (ranging from no schooling to secondary school) (cf. Fig. 14.6, by level at time of survey). This could be partly due to the fact that a part of the higher educated were still students after they arrived and their contributions increased once they entered the labour market and witnessed the convergence of the curves over time.

After the first year abroad, the probability of sending remittances increased considerably for those who were employed. For those not in employment, however, the slow pace of the first years quickened after a few years of living abroad (cf. Fig. 14.6 by employment status). The difference in remittance behaviour over time can be explained by the steadiness of employees' earnings compared to the less regular income of the predominantly unemployed.

Remittance behaviour seems not affected by legal status (cf. Fig. 14.6, by legal status). This could be because contrasting forces cancel each other out. Irregular migrants may send less money home because their vulnerable legal status often also means greater economic insecurity, but they may also want to make more transfers and investments to insure their incomes against the risk of deportation.

14.4.2 Investments in the Country of Origin

Investments in assets (houses, land or businesses) in Senegal by migrants in Europe were analysed according to length of stay abroad and by gender, educational level, employment status and legal status on arrival (cf. Fig. 14.7).

On departure from Senegal, men possessed 0.2 assets on average. In other words, there is one asset for five departing male migrants, the ratio being slightly lower among women. The proportion increases over time, suggesting that migration is a factor for investment in Senegal, as previously demonstrated by Mezger and Beauchemin (2014). This trend also shows that migrants' economic links with their home country do not fade over time. The longer the stay abroad, the faster the increase in the mean number of assets possessed.

Investment behaviour is not significantly different according to educational level or legal status, but is affected by employment status (Fig. 14.7, employment status). After eight years in the country of destination, there is one asset for every two migrants in employment but only one asset for every 5 unemployed migrants. It is possible that when unemployment lasts a long time, migrants adopt a survival strategy involving reselling previously acquired assets. Legal status at entry, on the other hand, does not affect asset ownership statistically. We would have expected the opposite, i.e. that given their situation, irregular migrants would be more concerned than legal migrants to secure their available income. Results suggest that irregular migrants are not more deprived than regular migrants, either at the time of migration or later.

14.4.3 Participation in the Origin Country's Development Through Diaspora Associations

After the first ten years in the country of residence, between 20% and 25% of Senegalese immigrants to Europe, at the very most, help their home country's development by contributing to hometown associations (Fig. 14.8). However,

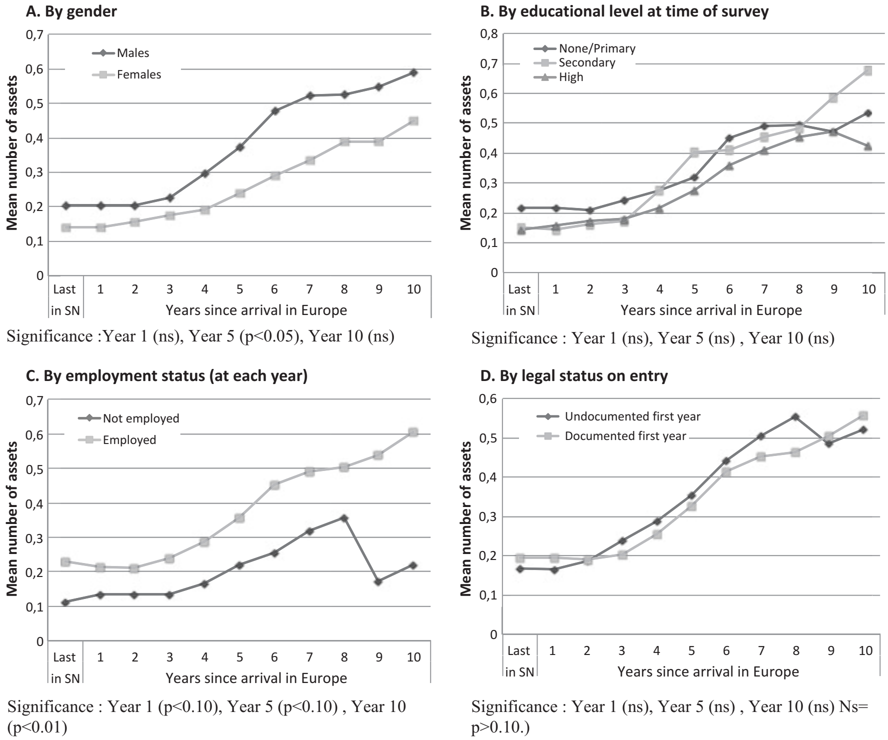

Fig. 14.7 Mean number of assets in Senegal per migrant in each year of their stay in Europe (for the first ten years)

Source: MAFE-Senegal biographic survey in Senegal, France, Italy and Spain
Population: Current migrants in France, Italy and Spain; weighted data
Interpretation: Mean number of assets owned in Senegal by migrants in each year of stay in Europe, for the first ten years of stay

behavioural changes over time differ according to the migrant's gender, level of education, employment situation and legal status on arrival.

The percentage of men who pay contributions increases, mainly in the first years and more slowly as their stay continues. Women contribute less at first but after six years of stay the percentage increases. Their later entry into the labour market and their position within the household may explain this (Sarr et al. 2010).

In terms of education, migrants at both end of the spectrum (i.e. high and low levels of education) contribute similarly to diaspora associations (cf. Fig. 14.8 by educational level). Later in their stay abroad, at around the seventh or eighth year, the trends change. The curves for those with low and medium educational levels converge (the low-education curve levels off and the medium level catches up), while the proportion of highly-educated migrants who contribute continues to rise.

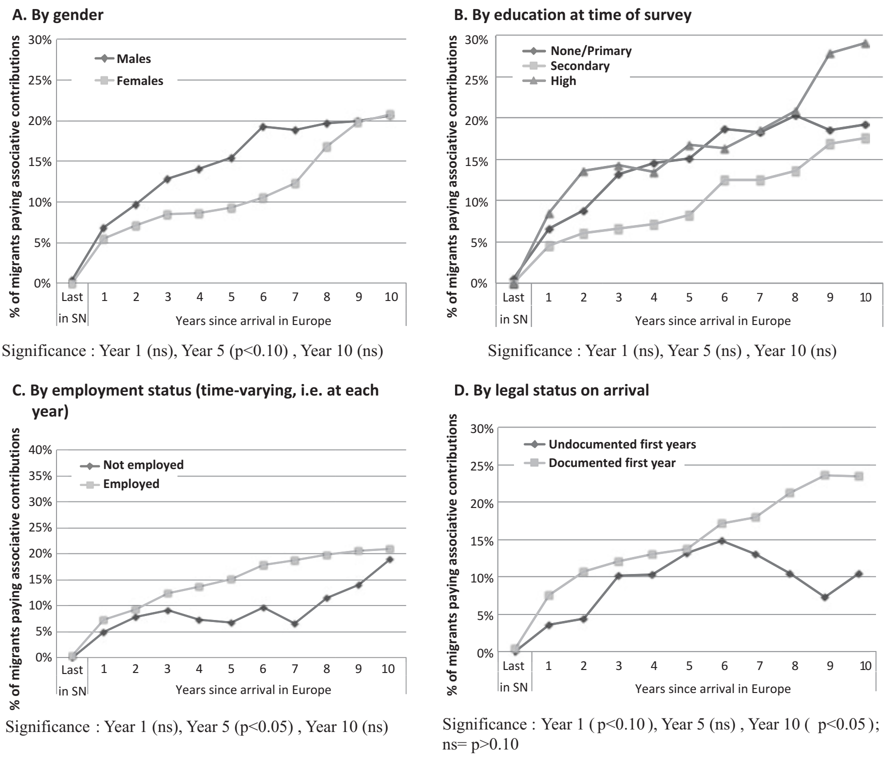

Fig. 14.8 Percentage of migrants contributing to diaspora associations, during each year of their stay in Europe (first ten years)

Source: MAFE-Senegal biographic survey in Senegal, France, Italy and Spain
Population: Current migrants in France, Italy and Spain; weighted data
Interpretation: Proportion of sampled migrants paying association contributions during each year of their stay in Europe, for the first ten years

As regards legal status on arrival in the country of destination, as many documented as undocumented migrants contribute financially to diaspora associations, with the proportion growing over the early years (Fig. 14.8, legal status). The trends only begin to diverge after six years of residence in the new country: the proportion of undocumented migrants contributing to an association falls, eventually to fewer than 10%.

All in all, transfer and investment behaviour patterns follow the same time trend, increasing with length of time in Europe with little divergence between migrant profiles or countries of residence. There is comparatively more such behaviour among less educated and unskilled migrants than among the highly-educated and skilled. Some of the latter join the labour market late, after starting out as students; some may be less obliged to transfer money home because their household in Senegal needs it less. The similarity in remittance behaviour between regular and irregular migrants seems surprising and calls for further investigation, particularly as regards the economic integration of irregular migrants.

14.5 Reintegration of Returnees into the Senegalese Labour Market

It is not only while they are abroad that migrants participate in the economic life of their country. They also contribute after coming home. Several studies have shown that migrants are subject to various constraints that sometimes hamper them from realizing their initial plans to return (Bruzzone et al. 2006; Sinatti 2009). Chapter 13 showed that return migration is becoming less frequent. In this section we look at the economic outcomes of migrants returning from Europe. We analyse their trajectories by comparing their situations at key moments: the year before leaving home, the last year in Europe, the first year after returning to Senegal, and at the time of the survey. This analysis covers migrants who have returned from France, Spain, Italy and other European countries (66%, 14%, 20% and 6% of return migrants respectively).

The overwhelming majority of returnees (89%) had residence permits before leaving their country of residence in Europe. In this connection, the literature shows that an insecure legal status, subject to periodic and uncertain renewals in Europe, inhibits migrants' plans for a permanent return, as it would hinder any future re-departure, if needed or desired (Flahaux et al. 2013; Megzer and Beauchemin 2010; Castagnone 2011). It is clear that most returnees are willing migrants and not deportees. As regards the link between length of stay abroad and return, four out of five returnees returned permanently to Senegal after fewer than ten years in the destination country (20%). More than half went back after fewer than five years (55.5%) and a quarter (25.5%) after between five and ten years. The main motive for return is family reasons, which are cited by a quarter of returnees (25.5%). This finding appears to show the considerable impact of family in the country of origin on how people manage their migration (Flahaux et al. 2011).

The sampled returnees' employment statuses before coming back to Senegal were as follows: 64% unskilled workers, 4% medium to highly skilled workers, 17% students and 15% unemployed/inactive (Fig. 14.9). It should be borne in mind that in moving from Senegal to Europe, migrants often ended up in jobs below their qualifications, as shown in the first part of this chapter. After this forced deskilling in Europe, a higher proportion obtained skilled positions in Senegal: an increase from 4% in the last year in Europe to 22% in the first year back in Senegal, slightly more than the rate when they first left (19%). This represents a "brain regain", but not a major gain compared to the rate prior to departure. Over time, the percentage increases further, which suggests that a period of reintegration is required for positive performance. This seems to be a period for readjusting and finding new points of reference after several years of absence. At the time of the survey, experience abroad was already having a favourable impact in comparison with the situation of non-migrants. Returnees were fewer in unskilled jobs, twice as likely as non-migrants to occupy a skilled position and less likely to be inactive.

In the first year back in Senegal, the proportion in unskilled jobs was slightly greater than that at the time of departure (39% versus 34%). The dominant trend is for returnees to remain active in the same occupations (44%).

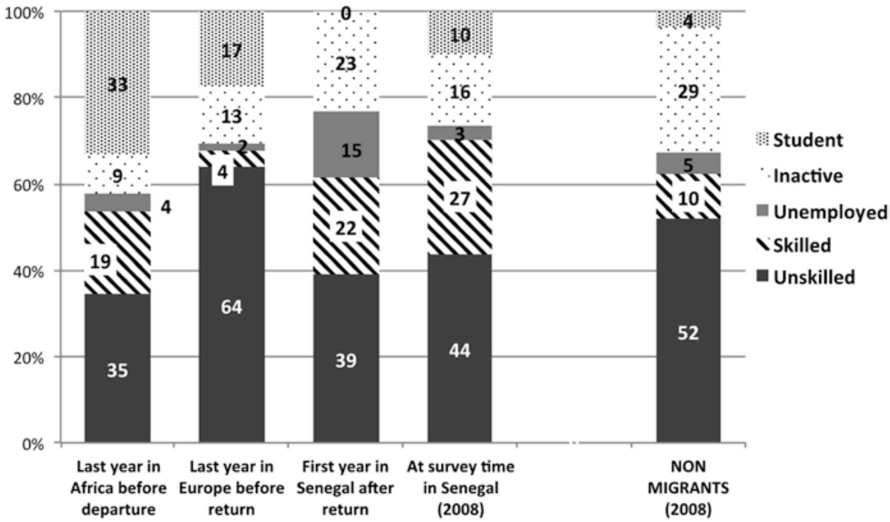

Fig. 14.9 Occupational status of returnees from Europe at four points in time during their migratory life, and of non-migrants in 2008 (%)

Source: MAFE-Senegal biographic survey in Senegal
Population: Migrants having returned to Senegal from France Italy and Spain, and non-migrants(weighted data)
Interpretation: Distribution of returnees by occupational status at four points in time, and of non-migrants
Statistical significance
Difference between…
… last year in Africa and last year in Europe: $p<0.10$
…last year in Europe and first year in Senegal after return: $p<0.05$
… last year in Africa and first year in Senegal after return: $p<0.05$
… first year in Senegal after return and survey time in Senegal (2008): n.s. ($p>0.10$)
… non-migrants and return migrants at survey time: $p<0.10$

Among students who migrated (33%), half had already changed status by their last year abroad (17%). Back in Senegal, 10% went back to school, probably in order to improve their qualifications or because they were unemployed or inactive during the first year of return.

In all occupational categories, the situation among returnees is found to be better than among non-migrants, partly because of initial selection, since better-educated and more qualified people are more likely to migrate (see Chap. 4). In 2008, returnees were proportionally less present in unskilled jobs than non-migrants (44% versus 52%, Fig. 14.9) and twice as likely to be in skilled jobs (21% versus 10%). They experienced less unemployment (3% versus 5%) and inactivity (16% versus 29%).

At all points in time considered, trade and services are the sectors in which Senegalese migrants are the most active in the different labour markets, especially while they are living abroad (70%, Fig. 14.10). Once they return, half of all migrants

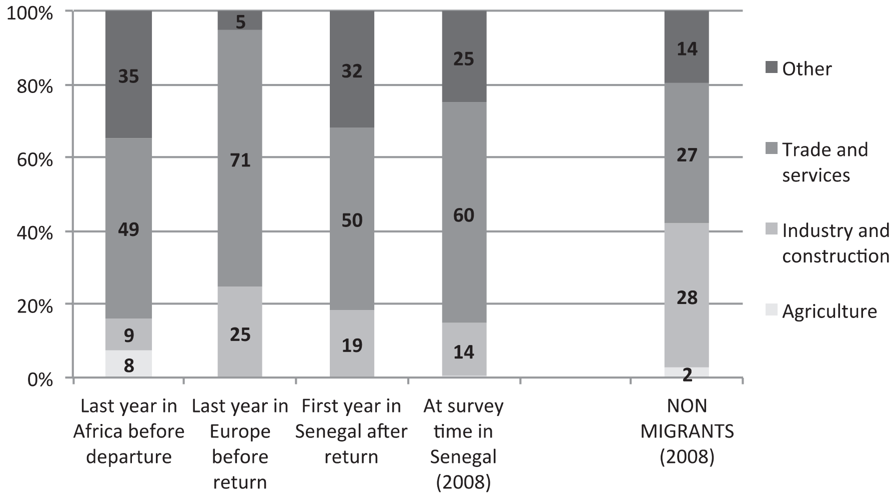

Fig. 14.10 Employment sector of returnees from Europe at four points in time during their migratory life and of non-migrants in 2008 (%) (working population)

Source: MAFE-Senegal biographic survey in Senegal
Population: Working population among migrants having returned to Senegal from France Italy and Spain, and non-migrants (weighted data)
Interpretation: Distribution of returnees by employment sector at four points in time and of non-migrants
Statistical significance
Difference between…
… last year in Africa and last year in Europe: p<0.0.5
…last year in Europe and first year in Senegal after return: p<0.05
… last year in Africa and first year in Senegal after return: p<n.s. (p>0.10)
… first year in Senegal after return and survey time in Senegal (2008): n.s. (p>0.10)
… non-migrants and return migrants at survey time: n.s. (p>0.10)

work in this sector, where are they are proportionally twice as numerous as non-migrants (27%). The already high percentage of returnees who had been active in trade and services before emigrating from Senegal (49%) as well as during their stay in Europe, support the hypothesis that small-business people have a greater propensity to out-migrate and then resettle in Senegal.

The very slight representation of the agricultural sector in the findings is certainly linked to the survey site (the Dakar region – see Chap. 2). However, given the importance of urban and peri-urban agriculture in the capital and its earning opportunities, the number of returnees working in that sector seems low (almost 0%).

The impact of the financial capital accumulated by migrants on their reintegration is confirmed by the type of employment they perform upon return (cf. Fig. 14.11). While the majority left as employees (59%), more migrants return as independent workers (62%). This result could also be read as a sign of difficulty in their socio-economic reintegration in the local labour market upon return: many of

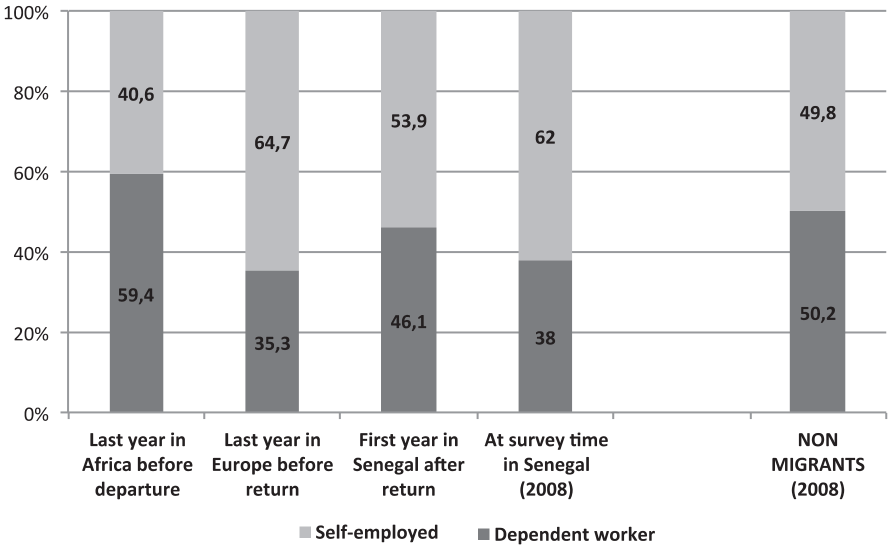

Fig. 14.11 Type of employment of returnees from Europe at four points in time during their migratory life and of non-migrants at 2008 (%) (working population)

Source: Biographic survey in Senegal
Population: Working population among migrants having returned to Senegal from France Italy and Spain, and non-migrants (weighted data)
Interpretation: Distribution of returnees by type of employment at four points in time and of non-migrants.
Significance
Difference between…
… last year in Africa and last year in Europe : n.s. (p>0.10)
…last year in Europe and first year in Senegal after return: n.s. (p>0.10)
… last year in Africa and first year in Senegal after return: n.s. (p>0.10)
… first year in Senegal after return and survey time in Senegal (2008): n.s. (p>0.10)
… non-migrants and return migrants at survey time: n.s. (p>0.10)

these independent workers are in fact running very small-scale businesses in the informal sector (Mezger and Flahaux 2010).

Another way of grasping migrants' labour market trajectories is by comparing their occupational status at several points in time. Figure 14.12 shows that the International Socio-Economic Index of occupational status (ISEI)[2] score is higher after their return. This is largely due to the fact that a significant proportion were students before departure (therefore not in employment and not included in the ISEI score), and held high-level employment after their return (light grey curve). If only those who were working in the last year before departure are considered, the ISEI scores are only slightly better after return (dark grey curve).

[2] For more details on the ISEI score and its relation to migration experience among Senegalese in Europe, see Obucina (2009).

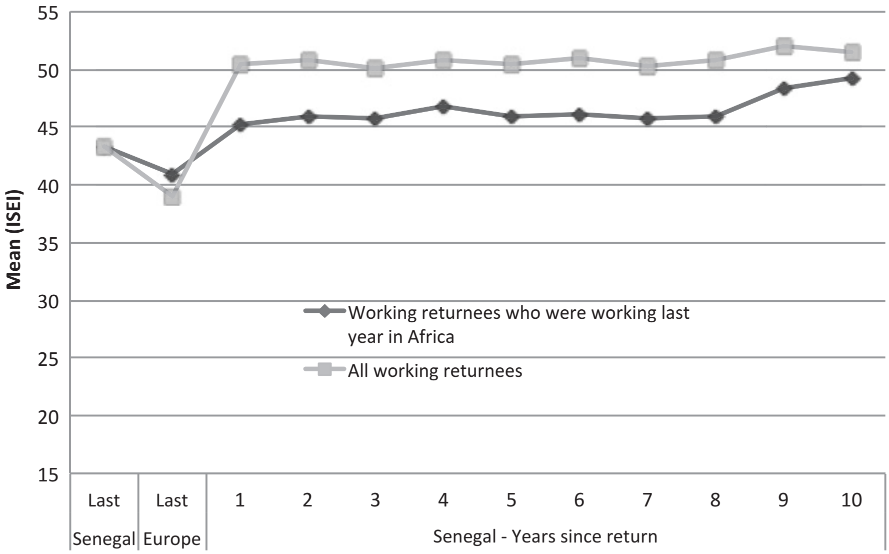

Fig. 14.12 Mean ISEI score among working people in their last year in Africa, their last year in Europe and every year since their return to Senegal

Source: MAFE-Senegal biographic survey in Senegal
Population: Working population among migrants having returned to Senegal from France Italy and Spain, and non-migrants (weighted data)
Interpretation: The graph presents average occupational scores (ISEI scores) in the last year in Africa and for the first ten years in Europe. The average score is measured among working people (whose composition may change over time) and shows aggregate changes
Statistical significance (all working returnees)
Difference between…
… last year in Africa and last year in Europe: n.s. (p>0.10)
…last year in Europe or in Africa and first year in Senegal after return: n.s. (p>0.10)
… first year in Senegal after return and ten years since return to Senegal: n.s. (p>0.10)
Significance (working returnees who were working in their last year in Africa before departure)
Difference between…
… last year in Africa and last year in Europe: n.s. (p>0.10)
… last year in Europe or in Africa and first year in Senegal after return: n.s. (p>0.10)
… first year in Senegal after return and ten years since return to Senegal: n.s. (p>0.10)

14.6 Conclusions

The first section of this chapter explored the occupational profiles of migrants surveyed in Spain, Italy and France, the three selected host countries, and their economic integration patterns upon arrival in Europe and across the first ten years of their stay abroad. As the analysis has shown, the different labour outcomes are primarily influenced by the composition of the migrant groups upon arrival, in terms of educational and labour profiles. The evidence shows how, among Senegalese migrants in Europe, the least educated and the unskilled are more frequently found in Spain and Italy, while students and qualified workers still mainly choose France as a destination.

There appears to be a self-selection process shaping destination choices according to migrants' profiles prior to departure, with an impact on the composition of the flows. Structural socioeconomic contexts in each host country give rise to particular demands for migrant labour, while and migration systems, available facilities, entry conditions and labour market access (e.g. visas, studentships, linguistic affinity, recognition of diplomas, networks of co-ethnics, available jobs, etc.) attract particular profiles of migration candidates. The strength of labour demand and the degree to which it is met by immigrant workers may affect public perceptions in the countries of origin and of destination, so influencing destination preferences on one side and admission policies on the other. It has been mentioned how labour market structure (in terms of sectorial composition, company size, the role of the shadow economy, etc.) and the regulatory frameworks in place in the host country (in terms of policies governing foreigners' entry and access to work) help to shape migrants' economic integration in the destination country.

Our findings have highlighted differences in outcome between the three selected destination countries. As expected, a wide gap was found between France, as a former colonial power and an older destination country for the Senegalese, able to attract and better integrate qualified workers, and Spain and Italy, more recent, southern European destinations where mainly unskilled workers concentrate.

Interestingly, the MAFE data go beyond this common perception by shedding light on important dissimilarities between Spain and Italy. Our analyses provide evidence of the different distribution of migrants, according to their destination countries, and of different labour performances over the medium term, with Spain showing worse results in terms of Senegalese migrants' economic integration, with a strong majority entering at the lowest level of the labour market and remaining there, almost no students continuing their studies once in Spain, and a dramatic downward mobility for medium- to highly-skilled workers. The economic integration of Senegalese migrants in Italy shows slightly better results, with a very high proportion of unskilled individuals stagnating in low-skill positions, but a small share of migrants pursuing their studies, an increasing proportion of workers employed in medium to high positions and the number of unemployed migrants decreasing over time.

Integration of Senegalese into the labour market in Europe is strongly affected by gender. Women show a much higher risk of inactivity, especially in France, where female migration is strongly based on family reasons, while Spain and Italy, where migration is more recent, show higher rates of female participation in the labour market. This could be due to various factors. For example, vulnerable conditions for families in destination countries with little social protection may encourage women to join the labour market and alter roles within families.

The second section highlighted how economic transnational engagement towards Senegal (observed more as remittances and investment in assets than through diaspora associations) grows over time. The proportion of senders increases more among men than women; more among migrants with low/medium education than among those with higher education; as much among the undocumented as among the documented;

and more among those in work than among the unemployed. The analysis indicates that remittance behaviour is linked to gender relations within Senegalese society. Women have often lower attachment to the labour market, thus are less to be able to remit. It would be interesting to observe if, controlling for participation into employment, the gender differential would disappear. A woman is freer to use resources as she wishes than a man, who must contribute to the maintenance of the family. Men also begin sending remittances sooner than women. This can be explained also by the fact that women access employment and income later than their counterparts. The differences in remittance behaviour between the least and most educated and between the employed and unemployed can likely be explained by social constraints, the economic status of the family at home, and economic insecurity.

As for investments in the country of origin, the data show that the longer the stay in the destination country, the higher the mean number of assets owned by migrants. Few, however, contribute financially to the activities of migrants' development associations. This can perhaps be explained by the urban origins of the migrants in the sample (most come from Dakar), the sense of community being weaker among town-dwellers than in rural areas, or by a lower perception of the needs/capacity to influence on the local economy.

In terms of migrants' strategies for re-entering the local labour market upon their return, they seem to privilege the sectors in which they can make the most of the financial and/or human added value gained through migration and their stay abroad: trade and services. Our analysis of returnees' reintegration into the labour market, although based on a limited number of cases and almost entirely on migrants who returned from France, provides evidence of positive outcomes over time, in terms of both labour market participation, with lower rates of unemployment and of inactivity, and of the status of the jobs obtained, with a higher proportion of individuals in skilled positions.

Senegalese migrants' economic contribution to destination and origin countries illustrates how social and economic agents manage to integrate into the labour market at destination, starting at the bottom end, to earn enough to meet their households' needs and ensure their own promotion in the home country by working, in whichever country, mostly in a "safe" sector: that of trade and services.

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